

By **ATTY. SIDNEY A. JONES, JR.**, For A.N.P.

It is interesting to note the Negro has always fought to secure the right to vote and to nullify the action of the Southern states in denying this right, but in many instances after waging a long fight to the supreme court of the state, in the United States district court and then to the Circuit Court of Appeals of the and property ownership and the United States, and finally to the like have been largely nullified. The supreme court itself, he has been neither by the supreme court denied relief because of some technicality or the efforts of Negroes to qualify themselves to qualify.

The southern states are now using very effectively the so-called white primary to prevent Negroes from participating in the Democratic primaries of the southern states, and inasmuch as the primary is the important thing, this amounts to a practically complete denial of the right to vote.

The first decision dealing with the legality of the Democratic white primary was rendered by the supreme court in 1927 in the case of Nixon v. Herndon. L. A. Nixon brought suit in the United States district court of Texas against Herndon and another judge of elections for denying him the right to vote in a Democratic primary at El Paso in 1924. The decision was based upon the Texas statute enacted in 1923 which provided, among other things, "In no event shall a Negro be eligible to

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could have the power to prescribe the qualifications of its own members and should in its own way determine who shall be qualified to vote or otherwise participate in such party. Pursuant to this statute, the Democratic state executive committee passed a resolution that only white persons could participate in the Democratic primaries. The white Democrats of the Mississippi suffrage law is that subject to the exclusion of the qualifications of it's own members and should in its own way express intention of depriving Negroes of the ballot. In discussing the U. S. supreme court upholding this law the supreme court of Mississippi said: "Within the field of convention, when in 1932 in the case of Nixon v. Herndon the supreme court held that it was unconstitutional, the convention swept constitutional to delegate to the executive committee the power to exclude Negroes."

Texas contended and in the case *Griggsby v. Harris*, the United States district court in Texas declared that this act of the executive committee was not a violation of any right granted by the United States constitution.

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the state convention voted to bar Negroes from its party. Of course, the supreme court of Texas upheld this decision and also the supreme court of the United States upheld it in 1935 in *Grovey vs. Townsend*, so after these many years of fighting by the Negroes of Texas in an effort to participate in the Democratic primary, the Negro is just where he started.

The chief method of the southern states in disfranchising Negroes has been very effective, and has even met the approval of the United States supreme court. This method consists in excluding those from voting who do not pay poll taxes, who have been convicted of certain crimes, or who can not read and interpret the state constitution. The chief method of the southern states in disfranchising Negroes has been very effective, and has even met the approval of the United States supreme court. This method consists in excluding those from voting who do not pay poll taxes, who have been convicted of certain crimes, or who can not read and interpret the state constitution.

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This part of the constitution was upheld by the Oklahoma supreme court, but in 1915 in the case of Guinn v. United States, the 'grandfather clause' was declared unconstitutional as a violation of the Fifteenth Amendment

This case is a great milestone in the fight of Negroes against the Southern States' denial of the right to vote by the laws which on their faces do not appear to strike at the Negro, but which in effect do so.

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What The U. S. Supreme Court

Has Done On Negro Cases

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By Atty. SIDNEY A. JONES, Jr.,
(For ANP)

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The Supreme Court held the Texas statute was unconstitutional. Justice Holmes, speaking for the Court, said: "We find it unnecessary to consider the Fifteenth amendment because it seems to us hard to imagine a more direct and obvious infringement of the Fourteenth amendment. That amendment, while it applies to all, was passed, as we know, with a special intent to protect the blacks from discrimination against them."

Dodge Court Ruling

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The colored voter, however, contended that the state had delegated control of the political parties to the Executive Committee of the Democratic party, and hence was a party to the discrimination, and therefore violating the Fourteenth and Fifteenth amendments.

Colored Democrats appealed to the U. S. Supreme Court and on May 1, 1932, the Supreme Court held in the case of Nixon vs. Condon that the Democratic State Executive Committee could not bar Negroes, but the Supreme Court did suggest a way that Negroes could be barred by stating that the power resided in the State Democratic convention, if at all.

After this the Texas Democratic State convention voted to bar Negroes from its party. Of course, the Supreme Court of the United States upheld it in 1935 in Grovey vs. Townsend, so that after these many years of fighting by the Negroes of Texas in an effort to participate in the Democratic

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The Mississippi suffrage law is typical of those passed with the express intention of depriving Negroes of the ballot. In discussing this law the supreme court of Mississippi said:

"Within the field of permissible action under the limitations imposed by the federal constitution, the convention swept the field of expedients, to obstruct the exercise of suffrage by the Negro race. Restrained by the federal constitution from discriminating against the Negro race, the convention discriminates against his characteristics, and the offense to which it is inclined to participate in criminal members are prone."

The U. S. Supreme Court decided in 1898, in the case of Williams v. Mississippi, that no relief could be granted the Negroes under the operation of this law, even though it was shown that it conferred a discretion on the election judges readily susceptible to abuse in that it allowed the registration board to pass on the ability of electors to interpret the state constitution. The court held that it was "not actually shown" that here was actual discrimination in the administration of the law.

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What the Supreme Court Has Done to the Negro

The Nine Old Men Helped the South Disfranchise Negro Citizens by Their Decision in the Texas Election Cases

(Continued from last week)

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The Supreme Court, however, has nullified state action in some instances which attempted directly or indirectly to defeat the purpose of the Fifteenth amendment. In 1910 an amendment was passed to the Oklahoma constitution requiring voters to be able to read and write any section of the state constitution, but excepting therefrom persons who prior to January 1, 1866, were entitled to vote under any form of government, or who on that date resided in a foreign land or who were lineal descendants

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This case is a great milestone in the fight of Negroes against the Southern states' denial of the right to vote by the laws which on their faces do not appear to strike at the Negro, but which in effect do so. Efforts to disfranchise the Negro based on such things as the "grandfather clause" of Oklahoma and requirement of literacy tests and property ownership and the like have been largely nullified either by the Supreme Court decision or the efforts of Negroes themselves to qualify.

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United States Supreme Court's Decisions On Disfranchisement

Finds It Difficult To Understand Justices' Ruling In Upholding Texas' Barriers To Free Use Of The Franchise Efforts To Secure Ballot Often Lost In Highest Tribunal On Technicalities, Student Of Court's Record Declares

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Court Decisions, Affecting the Negro-1937

The SUPREME COURT

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By S. H. JONES, JR., Attorney

(For ANP)

In 1875, the case of United States vs. Reese involving the Fifteenth Amendment came before the Supreme Court. There had been an indictment against election inspectors for refusal to receive and count the vote of a colored citizen at a municipal election in Kentucky.

The Court held that the section of the Amendment relating to inspectors of elections omitted all reference to race and color, and, therefore, the indictment could not be sustained. This was the first case brought to the Supreme Court by a colored person in order to enforce the Act of Congress passed pursuant to the Fifteenth Amendment and the Supreme Court held against the colored person on a very narrow technicality.

The court held that the Act, not being confined to unlawful discrimination on account of race, color, or previous condition of servitude, was beyond the limit of the Fifteenth Amendment.

The Amendment gave Congress the right to protect citizens from the denial of the right to vote on account of race, color, or previous condition of servitude, and the Supreme Court held that Congress had attempted to protect all citizens in the right to vote, and hence an indictment of election officials for refusing a colored person the right to vote could not be sustained.

This illustrates the technical manner in which the Supreme Court has repeatedly defeated the efforts of colored citizens to

secure the full protection intended for them by the Constitution.

Lost on Technicality

Again in 1875, the Supreme Court in the U.S. vs. Cruickshank denied to colored citizens the full benefit of the Enforcement Act. This case dealt with an indictment consisting of thirty-two counts for conspiracy under the Sixth Section of this Act. The defendants were charged with banding together with the intent to feloniously injure, oppress, threaten, and intimidate two citizens of African descent and to hinder or prevent them to peacefully assemble, bear arms, vote, and to deprive them of their lives and liberty without due process of law.

The Enforcement Act specifically prohibited such things.

The defendants were convicted in the lower courts, but the Supreme Court reversed the convictions on the technicality that the indictments, although they stated that the injured persons were persons of African descent, did not allege that the wrongs done against them were on account of their race or color.

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First Favorable Decision

The court, however, did in 1884, in the case of Ex Parte Yarbrough, uphold a section of a Federal Reconstruction Statute which sought to protect the colored man's right to vote. Several persons were convicted in the Federal Circuit Court in the northern district of Georgia for conspiracy to intimidate a colored person from voting for members of Congress in violation of a Federal statute.

Those convicted filed a petition for a writ of habeas corpus seeking their release on the ground that Congress had no power to pass a Federal law preventing such an offense. The Supreme Court denied the petition and held that Congress has the right to protect citizens in their right to vote.

Rulings on Franchise

The colored citizen has always fought for the right to vote and to nullify the action of the southern States in denying this right. But often after waging a long fight to the State supreme court in the U.S. District court, then to the U.S. Circuit Court of Appeals and finally to the Supreme Court, he has been denied relief because of some technicality or because of some unusual construction of the act of Congress. The Supreme Court, however, has nullified State action in some instances which attempted directly or indirectly to defeat the purpose of the Fifteenth Amendment.

In 1910, an amendment was passed to the Oklahoma constitution requiring voters to read and write any section of the State constitution, but excepting persons who, prior to January 1, 1866, were entitled to vote under any form of government, or who, on that date, resided in a foreign nation, or who were lineal descendants of such persons.

Inasmuch as the Fifteenth Amendment was not proclaimed until March 30, 1870, it is obvious that this above clause of the constitution would exclude all whites from the reading and writing requirement, but would include all colored citizens.

This part of the constitution was upheld by the Oklahoma Supreme Court, but in 1915, in the case of Guinn vs. U.S., the "grandfather clause" was declared unconstitutional as a violation of the Fifteenth Amendment in that it is a denial or abridgement of the right to vote

on account of race, color and previous condition of servitude.

Democratic White Primary

The southern States now use the so-called White Primary to prevent colored citizens from participating in the Democratic primaries of the southern States, and inasmuch as the primary is virtually, the election, this amounts to a practically complete denial of the right to vote.

The first decision dealing with the legality of the Democratic white primary was rendered by the Supreme Court in 1927 in the case of Nixon vs. Herndon. Dr. L. A. Nixon brought suit in the U.S. District court of Texas against Herndon and another judge of elections for denying him the right to vote in a Democratic primary at El Paso in 1924.

The denial was based upon the Texas statute enacted in 1923 which provided, among other things, "In no event shall a colored person be eligible to participate in a Democratic Party primary election held in the State of Texas."

The Supreme Court held the Texas statute was unconstitutional.

Dodge Court Ruling

Texas Democrats were not to be outdone, however. The statute was amended and provided that every political party in that State, through the State executive committee, could have the power to prescribe the qualifications of its own members and should, in its own way, determine who shall be qualified to vote or otherwise participate in such party.

Pursuant to this statute the Democratic State executive committee passed a resolution that only white persons could participate in the Democratic primaries.

The colored voter, however, contended that the State had delegated control of the political parties to the executive committee of the Democratic party, and hence, was a party to the discrimination, and, therefore, violating the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments.

Colored Democrats appealed to the U.S. Supreme Court, and on May 1, 1932, the court held in the case of Nixon vs. Condon that the Democratic State executive

committee could not bar colored citizens, but did suggest a way that colored citizens could be barred by stating that the power resided in the State Democratic convention, if at all.

After this, the Texas Democratic State convention voted to bar colored citizens from its party. The Texas Supreme Court upheld this decision and also the U.S. Supreme Court upheld it in 1935 in Grovey vs. Townsend, so that after these many years of fighting by the colored citizens of Texas in an effort to participate in the Democratic primary, the colored man is just where he started.

Other Methods of Disfranchising

The chief method of the South used in disfranchising colored citizens effectively, which has even met the approval of the U.S. Supreme Court, consists in excluding those from voting who do not pay poll taxes, who have been convicted of certain crimes, or who can not read and interpret the State constitution.

The only prohibition of the Federal constitution to the States concerning voting is that no State shall deny to any person the right to vote because of race or sex.

The Mississippi suffrage law is typical of those passed with the express intention of depriving colored citizens of the ballot. In discussing this law, the supreme court of Mississippi said:

"Within the field of permissible action under the limitations imposed by the Federal constitution, the convention swept the field of expedients, to obstruct the exercise of suffrage by the colored race. Restrained by the Federal constitution from discriminating against the colored race, the convention discriminates against his characteristics, and the offense to which its criminal members are prone."

The U.S. Supreme Court decided in 1898, in the case of Williams vs. Mississippi, that no relief could be granted colored persons under the operation of this law. The only relief for the colored citizen from these laws is a constitutional amendment providing certain definite and impartial qualifications for voting.

SUPREME COURT HAS PREVENTED MUCH MISTREATMENT OF RACE IN THE SOUTH

But Justices Have Never Saved Negro From An Act of Congress Aimed At Denying Him Any Rights, Lawyer Finds

By **ATTY. SIDNEY A. JONES, JR.**

PEONAGE was given a severe blow by the Supreme Court in the case of *Boyle v. Alabama* decided in 1911 (219 U. S. 219). The Court for the first time gave real effect to the Thirteenth amendment by holding the Alabama peonage law invalid. This law attempted to make the violation of a contract for personal services a penal offense.

The court held that a state cannot compel a man to labor for another in payment of a debt by punishing him as a criminal if he does not perform the services or pay the debt. The state of Alabama later tried to evade an act of Congress prohibiting slavery, but was prevented by the Supreme Court in *United States vs. Reynolds* in 1914 (235 U. S. 133).

HALTED TREATMENT

Practically all cases where the Negro has been helped by the Supreme Court arose from discriminations against him by some of the Southern states. The Supreme Court has prevented much mistreatment of the Negro by the Southern states, but it has also sanctioned much discrimination, including separate schools, Jim Crow laws, disfranchisement by white primaries and other methods.

The Supreme Court has never saved the Negro from an act of Congress aimed at denying him any rights. On the other hand the Supreme Court has in six decided cases declared acts of Congress unconstitutional which had as their sole purpose the protection of Negroes' rights, privileges and immunities.

ON NEGRO EDUCATION

All of the Southern states by law require separate schools for white and colored people. As a result of this segregation the colored schools are vastly inferior to the white schools and in some cases there are no colored schools at all.

In some communities there are high schools for whites and none for Negroes, and no Southern state provides professional education for Negroes, such as law, medicine, dentistry, pharmacy and the like, nor does any Southern state provide facilities for Negroes to earn de-

longing to them, without giving to colored children additional opportunities for the education furnished in high schools.

COURT'S RULING

The Court said, however, that in some appropriate proceeding Negroes had sought directly to compel the board of education out of the funds in its hands, or under its control, to establish and maintain a high school for colored children, "and if it appeared that the board's refusal to maintain such a school was in fact an abuse of its discretion, and in hostility to the colored population because of their race, different questions might have arisen."

In 1927 in the case of *Gong Lum vs. Rice*, the Supreme Court decided that a child of Chinese blood, born in and a citizen of the United States, is not denied the equal protection of the laws by being classed by the state of Mississippi among the colored races who are assigned to public schools separate from those assigned to whites, when equal facilities for education are afforded both classes.

The Supreme Court has also upheld the right of a state to prohibit a private school from educating white and colored children together. This was decided in the case of *Berea College vs. Commonwealth*, in 1908. The college, a private corporation of Kentucky, was indicted and charged that it did permit and receive both white and Negro races as pupils for instruction in said college contrary to an act of Kentucky of March 22, 1904, entitled "An Act to Prohibit White and Colored Persons from attending the same school."

FINED \$1,000

The college was found guilty and sentenced to pay a fine of \$1,000. The Supreme Court held that the statute was valid as to corporations, although if it involved an individual it may be in conflict with the federal constitution in denying to individuals powers which they might rightfully exercise. Yet, the Supreme Court had previously held in many cases that the term "person" in the Fourteenth amendment applies to corporations as well as to individuals, but it did not follow that rule in this case.

The charter granted to the college in 1899, five years before the passage of the state statute, provided: "Its object is the education of all persons who may attend its institutions of learning at Berea, and, in the language of the original articles to promote the cause of Christ."

Justice Harlan, who had always been a friend of the Negro while on the Court, handed down a vigorous decision dissenting opinion condemning the Kentucky law. He said:

RAPS DECISION

"The capacity to impart instruction to others is given by the Almighty for beneficent purposes; and its use may not be forbidden or interfered with by Government—certainly not, unless instruction is, in its nature, harmful to public morals or imperils the public safety. The right to impart instruction, harmless in itself or beneficial to those who receive it, is a substantial right of property, especially where the services are for compensation."

"But even if such right be not strictly a property right, it is, beyond question, part of one's liberty guaranteed against hostile State action by the Constitution of the United States. This Court has more than once said that the liberty guaranteed by the Fourteenth Amendment embraces 'the right of the citizen to be free in the enjoyment of all his faculties,' and 'to be free to use

them in all lawful ways'." Justice Harlan further pointed out that if a state could forbid the teaching of two races together it could prevent their worshipping together, or meeting together politically or even shopping at the same time in the same store.

The Supreme Court put an end to the attempt of Southern cities and states to assign Negroes to the ghettos by declaring unconstitutional an ordinance of the city of Louisville. This was decided in 1917, in the case of *Buchanan vs. Warley*.

A Negro had agreed to buy a lot from a white man. The lot was located in a block where there were eight residences occupied by whites, and only two by colored. The ordinance prevented the occupancy of a Negro on a lot in the city in any block where the greater number of residences are occupied by whites.

The Supreme Court declared that the city ordinance was unconstitutional and violated the Fourteenth amendment. Property includes the right to use, and dispose of it, and the occupancy and sale of property cannot be inhibited by the states or any of their municipalities solely because of the color of the proposed occupant, said the court.

Even the Supreme Court of Georgia in the case of *Carey vs. Atlanta* (143 Ga. 192) held a similar racial segregation ordinance invalid.

UPHOLD D. C. LAW

The Supreme Court however has upheld the right of property owners in the District of Columbia to make valid agreements to the effect that no property owned by them should be sold, occupied, leased, or given to any

Negro. The owners make mutual covenants with each other and the covenants run with the land, so that any person securing the land from one of the contracting parties, will make it subject to this burden or restriction against selling, giving, or leasing it to Negroes.

One of the parties to this covenant agreed to sell land included in the covenant to a Negro, and one of the other parties to the covenant brought a suit to enjoin the conveyance. The injunction was granted and the matter affirmed by the Court of Appeals of the District of Columbia. On appeal to the U. S. Supreme Court the case was dismissed on the ground that no constitutional question was raised.

The Court said that neither of the amendments to the constitution prohibited private individuals from entering into contracts respecting the control and disposition of their own property.

(THE END)

The Supreme Court

What It Has Done On Colored Cases

EDITOR'S NOTE: This is the first of a series of articles, prepared by a Chicago attorney, on Supreme Court decisions affecting Negroes, mainly since the Civil War. In view of the present national interest and bitter debate on President Roosevelt's proposal to augment the nation's highest tribunal, this survey, containing facts known to very few Negroes, assumes unusual significance. We suggest you read each article carefully and save them for reference.

By Attorney Sidney A. Jones, Jr., For ANP

1. SUPREME COURT DECISIONS ON DISFRANCHISEMENT.

These articles will merely point out the holdings of the Supreme Court in various matters concerning the Negro touching on the right to vote; the right to serve on juries; the right not to be deprived of life, liberty and property without due process of law; civil rights; jim crow laws; segregated districts, peonage, and also separate educational facilities. It will appear from these articles that the Supreme Court has been a blessing and also a bane to the Negro, and it is especially true that the Supreme Court during Reconstruction Days to a very large extent, nullified the acts of the Reconstruction Congress which intended to give full rights to Negroes throughout the length and breadth of the United States.

15th AMENDMENT

The Fifteenth Amendment to the Constitution provided as follows:

Section One. The right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any State on account of race, color or previous condition of servitude. Section Two. The Congress shall have power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation."

In order to enforce the Fifteenth Amendment, Congress passed the Enforcement Act on May 31, 1870, for the purpose of enforcing the right of citizens of the United States to vote in the several states of the Union, and for other purposes and provided a penalty against any person or election official for refusing to allow a Negro to register or vote, and the Act also provided a penalty against any individual who "by force, bribery, threats, intimidation or other unlawful means shall hinder, delay, prevent or obstruct or shall combine or shall confederate with others to hinder, delay, prevent or obstruct any citizen from doing any act required to be done to qualify him to vote or from voting at any election, as aforesaid, such person shall for every such offense forfeit and pay the sum of \$500 to every person aggrieved thereby, and shall also for every such offense be deemed guilty of a misdemeanor and

shall on conviction thereof be fined not less than \$500 or be imprisoned for not less than one month and not more than one year or both at the discretion of the Court."

LOSE FIRST CASE

In 1875 the case of United States v. Reese involving this statute came before the Supreme Court. There had been an indictment against election inspector for refusal to receive and count the vote of a Negro at a municipal election in Kentucky. The Supreme Court held that the section of the statute relating to inspectors of elections omitted all reference to race and color, and therefore the indictment could not be sustained against the election officials. This was the first case brought to the Supreme Court by a Negro in order to enforce the Act of Congress passed pursuant to the Fifteenth Amendment and the Supreme Court held against the Negro on a very narrow technicality.

The court held that the Act of Congress, not being confined to unlawful discrimination on account of race, color or previous condition of servitude, was beyond the limit of the Fifteenth Amendment. The Fifteenth Amendment gave Congress the right to protect citizens from the denial of the right to vote on account of race, color or previous condition of servitude, and the Supreme Court held that Congress attempted to protect ALL citizens in the right to vote, and hence an indictment of election officials for refusing a Negro the right to vote could not be sustained.

This is illustrative of the technical manner in which the Supreme Court time and time again defeated the efforts of the Negro to secure the full protection intended for him by the Constitution.

ANOTHER LOSS ON TECHNICALITY

Again in 1875 the Supreme Court in United States v. Cruikshank denied to the Negro the full benefit of the Enforcement Act. This case dealt with an indictment consisting of 32 counts for conspiracy under the Sixth Section of this Act. The defendants were charged with banding together with the intent unlawfully and feloniously to injure, oppress, threaten and intimidate two citizens of the United States of African descent and persons of color with the unlawful and felonious intent thereby to hinder, and prevent them to peacefully assemble, to bear arms, to vote, and to deprive them of their lives and liberty without due process of law

The Enforcement Act specifically prohibited such things.

The defendants were convicted in the lower courts, but the Supreme Court reversed the convictions on the technicality that the indictments, although they stated that the injured persons were persons of color and of African descent, did not allege that the wrongs done against them were on account of their race or color. The court held further that the ability of a government to offer protection is limited by the power it possesses for that purpose, and that the citizens must look to the states and not to the federal government for their protection and enjoyment of the rights alleged to have been violated in this case, and that since the Fourteenth Amendment prohibits state action and not individual action, the federal government could not punish purely individual action in this case.

FIRST FAVORABLE DECISION

The Supreme Court, however, did in 1894 in the case of Ex Parte Yarbrough uphold a section of a Federal Reconstruction Statute which sought to protect the Negro's right to vote. Several persons were convicted in the Federal Circuit court in the Northern District of Georgia for conspiracy to intimidate a colored person from voting for members of Congress in violation of a federal statute. The convicted persons filed a petition for a Writ of Habeas Corpus seeking their release on the ground that Congress had no power to pass a federal law preventing such an offense. The Supreme Court denied the petition and held that Congress has the right to protect citizens in their right to vote.

In 1900 in the case of Willey v. Sinkler, the Supreme Court had to decide a case brought up from South Carolina where a colored resident of Charleston had brought suit against the board of managers of a general election to recover damages in the sum of \$2,500 for wrongfully and wilfully rejecting his vote for a member of the House of Representatives of the United States for the State of South Carolina on November 6, 1894. Again a colored citizen was deprived of his right to vote on a technical question of pleading. The Supreme Court threw out the case on the ground that although the plaintiff alleged

that he was a duly qualified elector he did not allege that he was registered. The Supreme Court held that since the South Carolina Constitution and Statute make it necessary to be registered in order to vote, the failure to make this allegation was fatal. It seems that any intelligent person would understand that an allegation that a person was a duly qualified elector and was entitled to vote would make unnecessary the allegation that he was duly registered.

WINS CASE BUT NO RELIEF

Another decision of the Supreme Court in 1902 upheld the right of a Negro, but denied him any remedy. This was the case of Giles V. Harris begun in the District Court of Alabama to compel the Board of Registrars of Montgomery County to enroll a Negro on the voting list. The bill was brought on behalf of the plaintiff and 5,000 other Negroes of the county similarly situated and circumscribed. The plaintiff applied in March, 1902 for registration as a voter and was refused arbitrarily on account of his color, while all white men were allowed to register. This was done all over the State. Under Section 187 of Article 8 of the Alabama Constitution persons registered before January 1, 1903, remained electors for life, while after that date severe tests came into play which would include perhaps a large part of the black race. This refusal to register the Negroes was part of a general scheme to disfranchise them.

After January 1, 1903, the only persons in Alabama who could register were those who could read and write any article of the Constitution of the United States and owners or husbands of owners of forty acres of land in the state in which they reside and owners of \$300 worth of personal property. The suit was brought under an act of Congress which provided that every person who under cover of a state statute, ordinance, regulation, custom, or usage, subjects or causes to be subjected any citizen of the United States to the deprivation of any rights or privileges secured by the Constitution and laws shall be liable to the party injured in other proper proceeding for redress. The Supreme Court held in an opinion written by Justice

Holmes that although the lower court had jurisdiction of the subject matter, the court was justified in not requiring election officials to act under the unconstitutional registration provisions of the Alabama Constitution, and the Court also held that

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a Negro at a municipal election in Kentucky.

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The defendants were convicted in the lower courts, but the Supreme Court reversed the convictions on the technicality that the indictments, although they stated that the injured persons were persons of African descent, did not allege that the wrongs done against them were on account of their race or color.

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The Supreme Court held in an opinion written by Justice Holmes that although the lower court had jurisdiction of the subject matter, the Court was justified in not requiring election officials to act under the illegal constitutional registration provisions of the Alabama constitution, and the court also held that it would have no way of enforcing its decree and that a court of equity will not act to remedy constitutional wrongs.

Thus, we see that the Supreme Court specifically recognized the illegality of the Alabama constitutional provision, admitted that the subject matter was not beyond the court's jurisdiction, but at the same time denied redress to the Negro.

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The Supreme Court denied the petition and held that Congress has the right to protect citizens in their right to vote.

FROM SOUTH CAROLINA

In 1900 in the case of Willey v. Sinkler, the Supreme Court had to decide a case brought up from South Carolina where a colored resident of Charleston had brought suit against the board of managers of a general election to recover damages in the sum of \$2,500 for wrongfully and willfully rejecting his vote for a member of the House of Representatives of the United States for the state of South Carolina on November 6, 1894.

Again a colored citizen was deprived of his right to vote on a technical question of pleading. The Supreme Court threw out the case on the ground that although the plaintiff alleged that he was a duly qualified elector he did not allege that he was registered. The Supreme Court held that since the South Carolina constitution and

statute makes it necessary to be registered in order to vote, the failure to make this allegation that a person was a duly qualified elector and was entitled to vote would make unnecessary the allegation that he was duly registered.

WINS CASE—BUT NO RELIEF

Another decision of the Supreme Court in 1902 upheld the right of a Negro, but denied him any remedy. This was the case of Giles v. Harris begun in the District Court of Alabama to compel the Board of registrars of Montgomery County to enroll a Negro on the voting list. The bill was brought on behalf of the plaintiff and 5,000 other Negroes of the county similarly situated and circumscribed.

The plaintiff applied in March, 1902 for registration as a voter and was refused arbitrarily on account of his color, while all white persons were allowed to register. This was done all over the state.

Under Section 187 of Article 8 of the Alabama constitution persons registered before January, 1903, remained electors for life, while after that date severe tests came into play which would include perhaps a large part of the black race. This refusal to register the Negroes was part of a general scheme to disfranchise them.

ALABAMA'S METHOD OF DENYING VOTE

After January 1, 1903, the only persons in Alabama who could

The suit was brought under an act of Congress which provided that every person who under cover of a state statute, ordinance, regulation, custom, or usage, subjects or causes to be subjected any citizen of the United States to the deprivation of any rights or privileges secured by the Constitution and laws shall be liable to the party injured in an action at law, suit in equity, or other proper proceeding for redress.

The Supreme Court held in an opinion written by Justice Holmes that although the lower court had jurisdiction of the subject matter, the Court was justified in not requiring election officials to act under the illegal constitutional registration provisions of the Alabama constitution, and the court also held that it would have no way of enforcing its decree and that a court of equity will not act to remedy political wrongs.

Thus, we see that the Supreme Court specifically recognized the illegality of the Alabama constitutional provision, admitted that the subject matter was not beyond the court's jurisdiction, but at the same time denied redress to the Negro.

(TO BE CONTINUED)

SUPREME AND THE NEGRO COURT

Legislators Sought to Assist Newly Freed Negroes After Civil War and Passed Many Laws Toward This End

Sidney A. Jones, Jr.

writer of this series of articles on the Supreme Court and the Negro, of which this is the third, is a well-known Chicago attorney. In view of the present national interest and bitter debate on President Roosevelt's proposal to augment the nation's highest tribunal, this survey, written for the Associated Negro Press and The Amsterdam News, and containing facts known to very few people, assumes unusual significance.

(Continued from Last Week.)

III.—Civil Rights and Segregation

CONGRESS, immediately after the Civil War, desired to give full protection to former slaves in every state and the steps taken for this purpose were the Thirteenth Amendment, in force in 1865; the Fourteenth Amendment, in force in 1868, and the Fifteenth Amendment, in force in 1870, and the various statutes passed to enforce the amendments, which were as follows: the Civil Rights or Enforcement Acts of April 9, 1866, the Civil Rights or Enforcement Act of May 31, 1870, the Act of February 28, 1871, the Ku Klux Act of April 20, 1871, and the Civil Rights Act of March 3, 1875.

Within a year after the Civil Rights Act of 1875 was passed, which directly penalized and punished discrimination against the Negro in all places of public accommodation, such as conveyances, hotels and amusement centers, two cases were decided by the Court, which completely destroyed the plan of the Reconstruction Congress of protecting the Negro's rights by direct federal action.

In 1876, the Supreme Court in *United States v. Reese* held unconstitutional Section three and four of the Civil Rights or Enforcement Act which penalized inspectors in state elections for refusing to receive and count votes and for obstructing any

citizen from voting. The Court held that the Fifteenth Amendment only gave Congress the right to prevent discrimination on account of race, color or previous condition of servitude, and that the statute in question was not confined to such a limited class of discriminations, but extended broadly to all discriminations, and so construed it unconstitutional and an interference of the rights of the states.

Slaughter House case, which strangely enough had no connection with the Negro question at all, but involved the legality of a monopoly of the slaughtering business which the Louisiana legislature had given to one business. The other slaughter houses sought to break the monopoly on the ground that by giving all of the business to one concern the state was depriving them of their property, that is, the right to engage in the slaughtering business, without due process of law, contrary to the Fourteenth Amendment.

The Court in its opinion went into a long discussion of the history of the Fourteenth Amendment, the evil which it was destined to remedy and its pervading spirit, and finally held that the Louisiana statute did not violate the amendment; that if the right claimed by the plaintiff to be freed of a monopoly existed at all, it was not a privilege or immunity of a citizen of the United States as distinguished from a citizen of a state,

and finally the Court held that it was only the rights which owed their existence to the federal government, its constitution or laws that were placed under the special care of the national government.

Thus, it will be seen that the Court was very anxious to preserve to the South the right to deal with the Negro question. This decision, although it did not directly involve the Negro, nevertheless, in so far as it concerned the provision of the Fourteenth Amendment forbidding the state to abridge the privileges and immunities of a citizen, rendered that clause practically a nullity. The intent of the Reconstruction Congress in framing the language of the Fourteenth Amendment was directly contrary to the construction placed upon it by the Court.

The framers of this amendment not only desired to punish the South and elevate the Negro to the place of equality with the white man, but they also intended to place in the hands of the federal government powers to deal with this question heretofore exercised by the states.

It was well known that subsequent to the Thirteenth Amendment much legislation was passed in the South for the purpose of keeping the Negro in subjection, and federal action was necessary in order to protect the Negro's Rights, yet in the very first attempt to enforce the first clause of the Fourteenth Amendment the Supreme Court in this *Slaughter House* case by a decision of five to four defeated this attempt and differed both in respect to the intention of the framers and the construction of the language used by them.

Turned to State

Again in 1875 the Supreme Court in the case of *United States v. Cruikshank* made it clear that the Negro must look to the states for the protection of his civil rights and not to the federal government. This case was based on indictments against individuals under one of the Reconstruction statutes which prohibited any person to injure, oppress, threaten or intimidate any citizen with intent to prevent or hinder the free exercise and enjoyment of any right or privilege granted or secured to him by the Constitution or laws of the United States. The defendants in this case were charged with fraud

and violations against Negroes in the Louisiana State Elections.

The Court held that the rights which the Negroes claimed were violated and which Congress had sought to protect, such as the right to peaceably assemble, to petition for redress, to bear arms and to vote, were not the rights which citizens enjoyed by virtue of the Constitution of the United States, and hence the actions set forth in the indictment did not come within the scope of the constitution. Because the indictments did not allege discrimination on account of race, color or previous condition of servitude, they could not be upheld. The Court said: "We may suspect that the race was the cause of the hostility, but it is not so averred."

It can be seen that for all practical purposes these decisions left the federal statutes almost wholly ineffective to protect the Negro. This was exactly what the Supreme Court desired as it was not at that time in sympathy with the Reconstruction Congress. This emasculating of the amendments and the federal statute passed to enforce them by the court, plus the lack of protection furnished Negroes by the Southern States and the very limited number of rights which the Court considered the federal government could protect, left the Negro in almost as bad a condition in the South as he was before the amendments for his benefit were passed. Of course, in 1877 when President Hayes withdrew the United States army from the South, all efforts to enforce the Reconstruction Acts came to an end.

Negro Pushed Fight

But the Negro himself kept up the effort to make the Reconstruction statutes effective, but in 1883 the Supreme Court handed down two decisions which nullified the efforts of Congress to protect him. One of these cases was *United States vs. Harris*, which involved the constitutionality of Section Two of the Ku Klux Act of April 20, 1871, making it criminal for two or more persons to conspire or go in disguise upon the highway or upon another's premises for the purpose of depriving any person of equal protections of the laws.

The Court held the section unconstitutional and unwarranted by any provision of any of the amendments and held that the amendments, al-

though they gave Congress the power to enforce their provisions, did not authorize Congress to legislate directly as to the acts of private persons.

In the famous Civil Rights cases of the same year, the Civil Rights Act of Mar. 1, 1875, was held unconstitutional. Congress had by this statute made it a crime for any person to deny full and equal enjoyment of the accommodation of public conveyances, places of public amusement and the like to Negroes.

The Supreme Court again held that the amendments gave Congress no power to prevent state action. It is interesting to note that in all of these decisions the judges who were in sympathy with the Reconstruction program attempted to uphold all of the acts of Congress but were hindered by the judges who wished to maintain the status quo.

Quashed Civil Rights

The Supreme Court was also called upon during the Reconstruction period to pass upon action in the states dealing with Civil Rights for Negroes and almost invariably the decisions were against the Negro even if the Supreme Court in some instances had to reverse itself. In 1869, the Reconstruction government of Louisiana passed a statute which provided that all persons engaged within the state in the business of common carriers of passengers should give equal rights without regard to race or color in the accommodation of railroads, street cars, steam boats, stage coaches and all other vehicles.

In this case a colored woman sued the owner of a boat because she was not allowed to go into a cabin set aside for whites. The plaintiff had bought transportation from one point to another within the state. She recovered a judgement for \$1,000, which was sustained by the Supreme Court of Louisiana. The owner of the boat appealed to the Supreme Court of the United States and there this Louisiana Civil Rights Act was pronounced unconstitutional on the ground that it related to commerce within the states and that only Congress had the right to regulate such commerce.

The Court said, "If the public good requires such legislation it must come from Congress and not from the states." But in spite of the fact that the Court made this statement in 1877, in the Louisiana Civil Rights

case, in 1883 the Court held specifically that it was unconstitutional even for Congress to do that specific thing.

Mississippi Supreme Court Acquits Killer

Amsterdam News 4-3-37

JACKSON, Miss., Mar. 31. (ANP).—In one of the few decisions of its kind ever rendered in the South, the state supreme court Monday freed Milton Jarman, tenant farmer, who had been convicted by a lower court and sentenced to life imprisonment for killing a white plantation overseer.

Jarman was charged with the murder, in December, 1935, of H. F. Woodruff. He was convicted the following March, although he said the killing was in self-defense when the white man beat and shot at him as the tenant attempted to move off the plantation.

The supreme court said that, from the evidence, the lower court should have directed the jury to find the defendant not guilty.

The only witness to the slaying was Jarman. He said Woodruff came in his house and beat him with an iron poker. After the overseer shot at him and missed, Jarman got his shotgun and killed the white man. He fled following the shooting, but later surrendered to officers.

WHAT THE SUPREME COURT HAS DONE ON NEGRO CASES

By ATTY. SIDNEY A. JONES, JR., For A.N.P.
IV.—CIVIL RIGHTS AND SEGREGATION (Cont.)

In the civil rights cases of 1883, involving the Federal Civil Rights Act, one of the plaintiffs sought to recover a penalty against a railroad company for the refusal of a conductor to let her in the woman's car. The Supreme Court had Congress had no power to punish the individual acts of a railroad company in jim crowing a colored person. The inconsistency of the Supreme Court was clearly pointed out in a dissenting opinion by Justice Harlan, who said:

"The opinion in these cases proceeds, it seems to me, upon grounds entirely too narrow and artificial. I cannot resist the conclusion that the substance and spirit of the recent amendments of the Constitution have been sacrificed by a subtle and ingenious verbal criticism. It is not the words of the law but the internal sense that makes the law; the letter of the law is the body; the sense and reason of the law is the soul. Constitutional provisions adopted in the interest of liberty, and for the purpose of securing through national legislation, if need be, rights inhering in a state of freedom, and belonging to American citizenship, have been so construed as to defeat the ends the people desired to accomplish, which they attempted to accomplish, and which they supposed they had accomplished by changes in their fundamental law. By this I do not mean that the determination of these cases should have been materially controlled by con-

the implied power of Congress to enforce the master's rights. The Act of 1850 was much stronger than the one of 1793. It placed at the disposal of the masters seeking to recover a slave the whole power of the nation. It invested a commissioner, appointed under the act, with power to summon the posse comitatus for the enforcement of its provisions, and commanded all good citizens to assist in its prompt and efficient execution whenever their services were required as part of the posse comitatus. The Supreme Court in *Ableman v. Booth* (21 How. 506), 1859, Chief Justice Taney writing the opinion, adjudged it to be, "in all of its provisions fully authorized by the constitution of the United States." Justice Harlan continued:

"This Court has uniformly held that the national government has the power, whether expressly given or not, to secure and protect rights conferred or guaranteed by the Constitution, U. S. vs. Reese, U. S. 92, 214; *Shauder vs. W. Va.* 100 U. S. 303. That doctrine ought not now to be abandoned when the inquiry is not as to an implied power to protect the master's rights, but what may Congress, under powers expressly granted, do for the protection of freedom and the rights necessarily inhering in a state of freedom." Unfortunately for the Negro, none of the other justices of the court thought and felt like Justice Harlan.

Other cases dealing with jim crowism have been before the Supreme Court all to the detriment of the Negro. In the case of *Plessy v. Ferguson*, the Supreme Court in 1896 decided that the Louisiana statute which requires railway companies to provide equal but separate accommodations for white and colored passengers and made it a misdemeanor for any passenger to insist upon going into a coach reserved for persons of another race, was constitutional.

Thus it is seen here that the reconstruction statute of Louisiana prohibiting segregation by common carriers operating within the state was held unconstitutional by the Supreme Court in the case of *Hall v. Decuir* in 1877, yet a subsequent jim crow statute by the state of Louisiana with reference to common carriers was upheld by the Court in 1896. The Supreme Court also in 1889 upheld the Mississippi jim crow law dealing with common carriers in the case of *Louisville, New Orleans and Texas Railway company v. Mississippi*. The Court stated that it would construe the Mississippi statute as respecting commerce solely within the state and that obviously there was no violation of the commerce clause of the federal constitution.

This Mississippi statute which was upheld by the Supreme Court

was very similar to the statute passed by the Reconstruction government in Louisiana which was knocked out by the Court in *Hall v. Decuir*. In that case the district court of Louisiana held that the statute was not a regulation of commerce among the states, and this decision was sustained by the Supreme Court of Louisiana, because the statute purported by its express words to control carriers within the state, yet the Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of the United States in beginning his opinion, for some strange reason (21 How. 506), 1859, Chief Justice Taney writing the opinion, adjudged it to be, "in all of its provisions fully authorized by the constitution of the United States." Justice Harlan continued:

"The Louisiana court did not hold the statute regulated interstate commerce. It held just the opposite. Nevertheless the Supreme Court of the United States had to take this attitude in order to kill the statute and defeat the Negro. The Chief Justice of Louisiana in upholding the Act in his opinion said, 'The act does not attempt to regulate commerce. It was enacted solely to protect the newly enfranchised citizens of the United States within the limits of Louisiana from the effects of prejudice against them.'"

Other "Jim Crow" Cases
Negroes have taken several other cases to the Supreme Court in an effort to defeat the jim crow coach law, but in every case the Supreme Court has found a way to deny any relief. This is true even though some of its opinions have been inconsistent and some directly contrary to previous decisions. In 1914 in the case of *McCabe v. Atchison, Topeka and Santa Fe Railway company*, the Supreme Court held that the Oklahoma statute requiring separate but equal accommodations for white and African races, must in the absence of a different construction by the state court be construed as applying to exclusively interstate commerce, and as so construed it does not contravene the commerce clause of the United States Constitution. However, the Supreme Court did hold that the law did discriminate against colored persons in permitting carriers to provide sleeping cars, dining cars, and chair cars to be used exclusively by the white persons and hence did violate the Fourteenth Amendment even though there was a limited demand for such accommodations by the colored race as compared with the white race.

However, in the action brought by five Negroes to enjoin the en-

forcement of the law, the Supreme Court denied relief holding that the allegations in the bill were too vague and that none of the complainants had been refused accommodations.

The opinion written by Justice Hughes who is at the present time the Chief Justice, did hold that although the Supreme Court would uphold the separate coach law it would not uphold a proper case brought before it that part of the law which excluded Negroes altogether from sleeping cars, dining cars, and chair cars. In 1900 the Supreme Court in the case of *Chesapeake and Ohio Railway Company v. Kentucky* upheld the Kentucky jim crow coach law, even though the railroad was operated in interstate commerce from Virginia to Kentucky.

Again in 1910 in the case of *Childs v. Chesapeake and Ohio Railway company* the Supreme Court denied relief to a Negro who was thrown out of a coach of a train into a jim crow car, on the ground that the act of the defendant railroad was merely the act of the private citizen and that no constitutional question was raised, and that a carrier could by regulations separate white and colored passengers even in interstate commerce, provided there is no discrimination in the accommodations.

In a very recent case of *South Covington and Cincinnati Street Railway company v. Kentucky*, the Supreme Court again upheld a jim crow law. In this case a street railway company was indicted for violating a Kentucky law which required railways in the state to furnish separate coaches for white and colored passengers. The car in question was an ordinary street car solely engaged in interstate trips from Cincinnati to Covington, and 80 per cent of the passengers were interstate. Nevertheless the Supreme Court upheld the law. It is interesting to note that the nature of this identical railway was considered a few years prior by the Court and it was held that traffic between Kentucky and Ohio on the same cars under the same management constituted interstate commerce, and that the ordinance of Covington, which undertook to determine the number of cars and passengers to be carried was invalid.

(To be Continued)

SUPREME AND THE NEGRO COURT

Famous Berea College Fined \$1,000—Made to Close Doors to Negroes in Case Upheld by United States Supreme Court

Amsterdam News 4-24-37
Sidney A. Jones, Jr.

writer of this series of articles on the Supreme Court and the Negro, of which this is the sixth and final, is a well-known Chicago attorney. In view of the present national interest and bitter debate on President Roosevelt's proposal to augment the nation's highest tribunal, this survey, written for the Associated Negro Press and The Amsterdam News, and containing facts known to very few people, assumes unusual significance.

(Continued from Last Week.)

Peonage was given a severe blow by the Supreme Court in the case of Bailey vs. Alabama, decided in 1911 (219 U. S. 219). The court for the first time gave real effect to the Thirteenth Amendment by holding the Alabama peonage law invalid. This law attempted to make the violation of a contract for personal services a penal offense.

The court held that a state cannot compel one man to labor for another in payment of a debt by punishing him as a criminal if he does not perform the service or pay the debt. The state of Alabama later tried to evade an act of Congress prohibiting slavery, but was prevented by the Supreme Court in United States vs. Reynolds in 1914 (235 U. S. 133).

Practically all cases where the Negro has been helped by the Supreme Court arose from discriminations against him by some of the Southern states. The Supreme Court has prevented much mistreatment of the Negro by the Southern states, but it has also sanctioned much discrimination, including separate schools, jim-crow laws, disfranchisement by white primaries and other methods.

The Supreme Court has never

Negro High Schools

A typical example of how Southern

states discriminate against Negroes education are afforded both classes. The Supreme Court has also upheld the right of a state to prohibit a private school from educating white and colored children together. This was decided in the case of *Bemings vs. Board of Education*. In *Berea College vs. Commonwealth*, in this case an elementary school for Negroes was provided by a Georgia city, whereas it provided an elementary and high school for the whites.

Certain Negroes filed a petition to enjoin the Tax Board from collecting a tax for the high school, on the ground that there was no high school for Negroes and therefore there should be no taxes collected for a white high school.

Berea College Fined

When the case reached the U. S. Supreme Court it was held that the relief asked for would not be granted. The Board of Education justified its refusal to provide a high school on the ground that there were only sixty Negroes who wanted to attend high school, and that if they provided a Negro high school they would have to close the elementary school, which accommodated 300 children.

The Supreme Court refused to grant the relief prayed for because it either would impair the efficiency of the high school provided for white children, or compel the board to close it, and if that were done the result would be to take from the white children educational facilities belonging to them without giving to colored children additional opportunities for the education furnished in high schools.

The Court and Schools

All of the Southern states by law require separate schools for white and colored people. As a result of this segregation, the colored schools are vastly inferior to the white schools and in some cases there are no colored schools at all. In some communities there are high schools for whites and none for Negroes, and no Southern state provides professional education for Negroes, such as law, medicine, dentistry, pharmacy and the like, nor does any Southern state provide facilities for Negroes to earn degrees in graduate study. However, Negroes have never willingly submitted to this rank discrimination. They have fought up to the Supreme Court of the United States, but they have received no relief.

In 1927, in the case of *Gong Lum vs. Rice*, the Supreme Court decided that a child of Chinese blood, born in and a citizen of the United States, is not denied the equal protection of the laws by being classed by the state of Mississippi among the colored races who are assigned to public schools separate from those assigned to whites when equal facilities for

States. This court has more than once said that the liberty guaranteed by the Fourteenth Amendment embraces 'the right of the citizen to be free in the enjoyment of all his faculties,' and 'to be free to use them in all lawful ways.'

Justice Harlan further pointed out that if a state could forbid the teaching of two races together it could prevent their worshipping together, or meeting together politically, or even shopping at the same time in the same store.

Residential Segregation

The Supreme Court put an end to the attempt of Southern cities and states to assign Negroes to the ghettos by declaring unconstitutional an ordinance of the city of Louisville. This was decided in 1917, in the case of *Buchanan vs. Marley*. A Negro had agreed to buy a lot from a white man. The lot was located in a block where there were eight residences occupied by whites and only two by colored. The ordinance prevented the occupancy of a Negro on a lot in the city in any block where the greater number of residences are occupied by whites.

The Supreme Court declared that the city ordinance was unconstitutional and violated the Fourteenth Amendment. Property includes the right to use and dispose of it, and the occupancy and sale of property cannot be inhibited by the states or any of their municipalities solely because of the color of the proposed occupant, said the court.

Even the Supreme Court of Georgia, in the case of *Carey vs. Atlanta* (143 Ga. 192), held a similar racial segregation ordinance invalid.

Allowed D. C. Covenants.

The Supreme Court, however, has upheld the right of property owners in the District of Columbia to make valid agreements to the effect that no property owned by them should be sold, occupied, leased, or given to any Negro. The owners make mutual covenants with each other and the covenants run with the land, so that any person securing the land from one of the contracting parties will take it subject to this burden or restriction against selling, giving, or leasing it to Negroes.

agreed to sell land included in the ground that no constitutional question was raised. The court said that other parties to the covenant brought neither of the amendments to the suit to enjoin the conveyance. The constitution prohibited private individuals from entering into contracts with Negroes from entering into contracts respecting the control and disposition of their own property.

THE END

On appeal to the U. S. Supreme Court the case was dismissed on the

What The U. S. Supreme Court Has Done On Negro Cases

By ATT. SIDNEY A. JONES, Jr.
(For ANP)

V. JURY SERVICE AND DUE PROCESS OF LAW

It is well known that few of the eight million Negroes of the South ever get a chance to serve on a jury, and that Negroes, therefore, in being tried for criminal offenses do not have the advantages that would otherwise be theirs. This is especially a handicap in cases involving offenses against persons of other races. It is also a distinct disadvantage in the trial of civil cases where one party is white and the other colored. If the jury is consistently followed in saving Negroes all white, and the Negro has no opportunity to have members of his race among them, it is easy to see that he will be at distinct disadvantage. Why a Negro, was indicted for murder and is it true, then, that even though in some of the Southern States Negroes comprise from one half to one fourth of the population, and in some counties Negroes actually outnumber the whites, Negroes very rarely are called upon to take part in the administration of justice by serving on a jury? What has the Supreme Court said about this?

Since 1879 the Supreme Court has constantly held that the right to serve on juries cannot be denied any person because of race. In that year in the case of Ex Parte Virginia, it was held that section four of the Civil Rights Bill passed by Congress in 1875 was valid, and that an indictment against a state officer under the section for excluding persons from the jury list on account of their color would be sustained.

This question of Negroes serving on juries is usually raised when a Negro is convicted in a state court and appeals his conviction to the U. S. Supreme Court on the ground that he was denied due process of law and the equal protection of the laws as guaranteed by the 14th Amendment. That is the provision that saved the nine Scottsboro Alabama boys in the second appeal to the Supreme Court, in the case of Norris vs. Alabama, decided April, 1935. It was conclusively proved at the trial in Alabama that Negroes were not called to jury service and had not been for a large number of years, even though there were many Negroes in the county qualified to serve as jurors.

The precedent for the Scottsboro cases, however, was laid down in 1880 by the Supreme Court in the famous case of Neal vs. Delaware. In this case

William Neal, a Negro, was indicted and convicted for rape and sentenced to death. The constitution of Maryland at that time contained a provision excluding Negroes from jury service. The Court held that the exclusion because of their race and color was a violation of the constitutional rights of the defendant by distinct disadvantage in the trial of such a jury will be reversed by the civil cases where one party is white and the other colored. If the jury is consistently followed in saving Negroes all white, and the Negro has no opportunity to have members of his race among them, it is easy to see that he will be at distinct disadvantage. Why a Negro, was indicted for murder and is it true, then, that even though in some of the Southern States Negroes comprise from one half to one fourth of the population, and in some counties Negroes actually outnumber the whites, Negroes very rarely are called upon to take part in the administration of justice by serving on a jury? What has the Supreme Court said about this?

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dicted for the murder of a white man, of his neighbors, fellows, associates, persons having the same legal status in society as that which he holds."

In Gibson vs. Mississippi (162 U. S. 565) 1896, the Supreme Court practically nullified the effect of the removal statute as construed in Strauder vs. West Virginia. A Negro defendant in an indictment filed a petition asking the cause to be removed to U. S. circuit court under Section 641 of U. S. statutes, which provided for removal if defendant could not secure his rights under U. S. Constitution. The petition stated that in the county 7,000 colored citizens were competent for jury service and 1,500 whites. Yet there had not been for a number of years any colored men summoned for jury service and that Negroes were excluded on account of race and color. The petition for removal was denied by the Mississippi court and the defendant convicted.

The Court further said: "A mixed jury in a particular case is not essential to the equal protection of the law. It is a right to which any colored man is entitled, that in the selection of jurors to pass upon his life, liberty or property, there shall be no exclusion of his race, and no discrimination against them because of his color. But he has no right to have the jury composed partly of colored men."

Again in 1879 the Supreme Court handed down another famous decision upholding the rights of Negroes to serve on juries. This was the case of Strauder vs. West Virginia in which a colored man was indicted for murder. Before the trial commenced in the state court, the defendant presented a petition praying for a removal of his case to the circuit court of the United States because by virtue of the laws of West Virginia no Negro could serve on the jury. The petition was based on a federal law providing for the removal of a case from the state court to the federal court if a defendant could not get his constitutional rights in the former. The petition was denied and the defendant was convicted in the state court. On appeal to the U. S. Supreme Court the conviction was reversed and the cause ordered transferred to the federal court. The Supreme Court said: "The right to a trial by jury is guaranteed to every citizen of West Virginia by the constitution of the state, and the constitution of the United States."

Other "Jim Crow" Cases
Negroes have taken several other cases to the Supreme Court in an effort to defeat the jim-crow law, but in every case the Supreme Court has found a way to deny any relief. This is true even though some of its opinions have been inconsistent and some directly contradictory to previous decisions. In 1914 in the case of McCabe v. Atchison, Topeka and Santa Fe Railway Company, the Supreme Court held that the state court's construction of the state constitution as applying to interstate commerce does not contravene the commerce clause of the United States Constitution.

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What the Supreme Court Has Done to the Negro

SIDNEY A. JONES, Jr., Attorney

IV.—CIVIL RIGHTS AND SEGREGATION

(Continued)

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However, the Supreme Court did hold that the law did discriminate against colored persons in permitting carriers to provide sleeping

cars, dining cars, and chair cars to be used exclusively by the white persons and hence did violate the Fourteenth Amendment even though there was a limited demand for such accommodation by the colored race as compared with the white race.

However, in the action brought by five Negroes to enjoin the enforcement of the law, the Supreme Court denied relief holding that the allegations in the bill were too vague and that none of the complainants had been refused accommodations.

The opinion written by Justice Hughes who is at the present time Chief Justice, did hold that although the Supreme Court would uphold the separate coach law it would not uphold a proper case brought before it that part of the law which excluded Negroes altogether from sleeping cars, dining cars, and chair cars. In 1900 the Supreme Court in the case of Chesapeake and Ohio Railway Company v. Kentucky upheld the Kentucky jim-crow coach law, even though the railroad was operated in interstate commerce from Virginia to Kentucky.

Again in 1910 in the case of Childs v. Chesapeake and Ohio Railway Company the Supreme Court denied relief to a Negro who was thrown out of a coach of a train into a jim-crow car, on the ground that the act of the defendant railroad was merely the act of the private citizen and that the constitutional question was raised by the fact that a carrier could by regular railway company law which excluded Negroes altogether from sleeping cars, dining cars, and chair cars. In 1900 the Supreme Court in the case of Chesapeake and Ohio Railway Company v. Kentucky upheld the Kentucky jim-crow coach law, even though the railroad was operated in interstate commerce from Virginia to Kentucky.

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IV.—CIVIL RIGHTS AND

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at distinct disadvantage. Why is it true, then, that even though in some of the Southern states Negroes comprise from one half to one-fourth of the population, and in some counties Negroes actually outnumber the whites, Negroes very rarely are called upon to take part in the administration of justice by serving on a jury? What has the Supreme Court said about this?

Since 1879 the Supreme Court has consistently held that the right to serve on juries cannot be denied any person because of race. In that year in the case of Ex Parte Virginia, it was held that section four of the Civil Rights Bill passed by Congress in 1875 was valid, and that an indictment against a state officer under this section for excluding persons from the jury list on account of their color would be sustained.

This question of Negroes serving on juries is usually raised when a Negro is convicted in a state court and appeals his conviction to the U. S. Supreme Court on the ground that he was denied due process of law and the equal protection of the laws as guaranteed by the Fourteenth Amendment. That is the provision that saved the nine Scottsboro Alabama boys in the second appeal to the Supreme Court, in the case of Norris v. Alabama, decided April 1935. It was conclusively proved at the trial in Alabama, that Negroes were not called to jury service and had not been for a large number of years, even though there were many Negroes in the county qualified to serve as jurors.

PRECEDENTS

The precedent for the Scottsboro cases, however, was laid down in 1880 by the Supreme Court in the famous case of Neal v. Delaware. In this case William Neal, a Negro, was indicted and convicted for rape and sentenced to death. The constitution of Maryland at that time contained a provision excluding Negroes from jury service.

National Negro Congress Begins Fight Against the U. S. Supreme Court

Says Court Defeats Negro Rights

Negro organizations of every type were urged this week to support President Roosevelt's proposal for modernization of the United States Supreme Court by John P. Davis, secretary of the National Negro Congress. The request was made in a four-page folder issued by the congress which declared that "every minor citizenship right granted Negroes by the 14th and 15th Amendments to the constitution has been ignored by the Supreme Court."

Davis also indicated that local councils of the organization in 25 key cities had begun a campaign to support Labor's Non-Partisan League in its efforts to reform the High Court.

"A great many people," declared the Congress secretary, "are saying that the Supreme Court has protected the Negro people. But the facts are that the Supreme Court has for the past 60 years used every possible method to defeat the rights given us by the 13th, 14th and 15th Amendments to the Constitution."

Cits Record of Court

"The record of the court indicates that on every major issue involving Negroes and labor it has adopted a reactionary position. It has refused to allow Congress to enforce the amendments by a civil rights law. But it has permitted states to adopt all manner of Jim Crow laws against us."

"The court has refused to approve legislation to guarantee Negroes the right to vote, but it has permitted political parties to set up bars in primary elections which effectively prevent three million Negro citizens from voting."

Secrets Negro Hating Justices

"No better example of the attitude which the Supreme Court takes towards Negroes," declared Davis, "exists than the recent explosion of Mr. Justice McReynolds who publicly insulted the Negro people in a recent speech in de-

fense of the court."

Davis indicated that an initial 50,000 folders giving the complete record of the court had been distributed. He predicted that Negro voters in key states in the mid-West and East would be a deciding factor in securing the votes of Senators and Representatives in support of President Roosevelt's modernization plan.

The issue of modernizing the Supreme Court is one of vital importance to Negroes, he stated. "Only thru the speedy method proposed by President Roosevelt," he said "can we hope to end the intolerable situation whereby every law which aids the unemployed or which guarantees better protection to Negroes is declared unconstitutional by the court."